1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927), 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN: GHOMARA, SENHAJA, AND RIF

● 173 Before attempting to study the history, culture, and racial composition of a people it is frequently worth while to see what the people themselves have to say about these things. Native traditions concerning such matters may in places be hopelessly muddled and obscure, but in other places they may be surprisingly lucid and correct. At any rate, it is worth while to give them a trial to see how far they accord with the facts of history and of cultural and racial distribution.

There are three major Berber groups in the region which we are studying: the Ghomara the Senhaja, and the Rif. Each of them has a different story as to origin, but the stories are interrelated.

GHOMARA

The Ghomara claim that in the country which they now occupy there formerly lived a people resembling Suwasa, or men of the River Sus south of the Atlas. The Ghomarans are not positive that these people were Suwasa, but think it likely. At any rate, there came seven years of foul wind accompanied by mosquitoes, which killed off all the inhabitants. After this the Ghomara, who had wandered up from Segguia el Hamra, or Red Irrigation Ditch, a watercourse in what is now Rio de Oro south of the Draa, entered the country and settled in it. After they had been there a while the Portuguese came in and commenced to rule over them, but the Ghomara rose and expelled their masters. All these things took place in heathen times. After this two Riffians wandered in and established the families of Harthanen and Aduz, Harthanen's ancestor being from Beni Bu Frah, and Aduz's from Bokoya. The rest of the name-ancestors came from Segguia el Hamara. Here we have definite tradition of an invasion from the south, with a slight infiltration of Riffian ancestors afterward.

SENHAJA

In the Senhaja Sghir the legends are equally explicit. The various tribes are supposed to have been settled in the following ways and order. First were the Beni Bu Nsar. A certain heathen king sent a Christian prisoner in exile to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar. This region was at the time uninhabited, and its forests were filled with wild animals. The soldiers of the king took him there with his wife and left them, thinking that they would die there. They had progeny and flourished, felling trees, building villages, and erecting terraces. Years later messengers were sent by the king to see whether or not the exiles had died and found a large village.

The ancestor of the Beni Bu Nsar had a brother who was sent or went to the region even higher up the mountain crest, and became the ancestor of the Beni Khennus. Of the same family are the Beni Seddath, who live in the same place as the Beni Khennus — that is, their villages are intermixed, and neither of them has a territory distinct from the other.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Next Taghzuth was settled. Originally there had been only Suwasa in Taghzuth, and a castle belonging to them is said to remain. A superficial examination of the so-called ruins show them to resemble a natural group of stones rather than the work of man. Besides this "castle," there is a similar site which is said to have belonged to Rum, meaning Rome, or Christians in general. At any rate, the Suwasa who inhabited Taghzuth were heathen and died off before the ancestors of Taghzuth came in. The ancestors of the families or villages came from the following places.

Ulad Ikhalif	Sidi Ikhalif from the Beni Ukil (Arabs near Ujda); his tomb is at Aiun.	Ulad Abekar	Segguia el Hamra
		Ulad el Wartith ..	Segguia el Hamra
el Kelaa	Beni Bu Yahyi	Targamzith	Segguia el Hamra
Tesarin	Metalsa	Terirn	Segguia el Hamra

The next tribe to be settled was Beni Hamid, whose ancestors were heathen from the western tribe of Beni Hamid, lying near Ghazawa.

After this came the ancestor of the Beni Bu Shibet. He was a Christian, related to the ancestor of the Beni Bu Nsar, but his descendants have lived in close contact with the Beni Hamid and have intermarried and made alliances with them, so that they are to-day closer to the Beni Hamid than to the Beni Bu Nsar.

Next came the ancestors of the Zarket tribesmen and of the Beni Gmil, who are supposed to be related. Information as to the point of origin of their ancestors or ancestor I was unable to obtain.

Last of all came the ancestors of Ktama, from Segguia el Hamara. Ktama, the last place to be settled, is the least desirable territory in all the Senhaja Sghir, and the inhabitants are looked down upon as yokels by the rest of the Senhajans.

Here again, as in the case of the Ghomara, three factors appear: the original Suwasa, who are said to have disappeared, the ancestors from the Segguia el Hamara, and the infiltration of other ancestors. The disappearance of the Suwasa seems to be a convenient excuse for the disposal of unvaunted ancestors. If none of them were alive at the time the Ghomaran and Senhajan ancestors came, and the countries were both uninhabited, how did they know that the people, of whom they presumably found traces, had been Suwasa? Or how did they know the history of the seven bad years? Ask a Ghomaran or Senhajan greybeard these questions and he will look embarassed and change the conversation. The very look suggests his knowledge or suspicion that the natives were absorbed by the newcomers.

Far more important than the coming of the Senhaja and the Ghomara, in popular tradition and imagination, was the war between them. This conflict took place in pre-Islamic times, according to the descendants of the main participants, or in very early times, according to Riffians who will not admit that Islam has not always existed.

It seemed that the whole world joined in, every tribe of the Rif belonged to one side or the other, and now even inanimate objects are sometimes divided into Senhaja and Ghomara. I was asked in Taghzuth which side the Americans had been allied with.

The cataclysm is supposed to have originated as follows. The son of the ancestor of the Beni Bu Nsar found in his father's documents a paper establishing his rights to Imasinen, a village in the Galiya, which was at the time uninhabited. The Ghomara also claimed the land in question, and so the two disputants took their claims before the Great Council. (Tradition is hazy concerning the composition of this body.) The Great Council decided

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

● 173 that the two rivals should start walking at once, and that he who arrived at Imasinen first should own the land. The Senhajan won, and when the Ghomaran arrived he became angry, whereupon the war commenced. On the way home the two rivals collected allies in all the Riffian tribes they passed, as follows:

Senhaja	*Ghomara*
Mazuza of Galiya	Beni Shisher of Galiya
Beni Sidel of Galiya	Beni Bu Yafer of Galiya
Metalsa	Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya
Gzennaya	Beni Bu Yahyi
Beni Urriaghel	Beni Said
Beni Bu Frah	Beni Tusin
Mestasa	Beni Ulishk
	Tafersit
	Beni Amart
	Bokoya
	Targuist
	Beni Itteft
	Mtiwa

The forces of the Ghomara, judging by names alone, should have outweighed those of the Senhaja. But Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya have always far overshadowed the other tribes numerically and in military power, so that their presence on the Senhajan side is supposed to have turned the scale, especially since they had as allies all the tribes on the Wergha here called Arabophone Senhaja. The Senhaja won, and the Ghomara have remained huddled on their seacoast ever since. To this day bitterness remains between the peoples, although the allies of the two have long since been drawn into fresh feuds and new alignments.

173 264 574 One cultural difference between the Senhaja and Ghomara has led to an *ex post facto* explanation for the enmity. It is said that there are two kinds of men: those who when they eat together leave a little food in the bottom of the bowl through shame of taking the last bit, and likewise keep the *baraka* [1] of the food in the house; and those who gobble it all to the last morsel. Furthermore the first kind are hospitable, and the second not. The Black Sultan (a common figure in Moroccan folklore) decreed that those who have shame in this matter should be called Senhaja and those who have none Ghomara. To this day all the Senhaja leave food in the bowl, and the Ghomara leave none; the Senhaja are hospitable and the Ghomara cold to strangers.

173 In this seemingly simple story of the Senhaja and the Ghomara, recorded as it came from the lips of the old men of these peoples, we have an exceedingly lucid account of happenings that occurred at least a thousand years ago and probably considerably earlier. Certain factors in the tale have been crystallized and handed down as entities, whether or not they are strictly accurate. At any rate, both the Ghomara and the Senhaja invaded from the south, the Ghomara first. Each found traces of previous occupants, each absorbed a certain amount of Riffian blood, and each sought allies among the Riffians when they fought off their old grudges, which they may well have brought with them from the south.

[1] See p. 157.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

RIF

●173 In the Rif we have no such clarity of tradition, a fact which in itself indicates antiquity. The Riffian families claim various types of people as ancestors. Some state that their forebears were autochthonous heathen; others that their lines were founded by strangers coming in from the Senhaja; others that their eponymous ancestors were of Zenatan stock, having come in with the Zenatan invasion of the eastern Rif about six hundred years ago; and others, mostly located in the eastern tribes, that their ancestors were *igharbiyen* or westerners, hence foreigners. The following list will make this clearer.

Tribe	*Smaller Group*	*Traditional Ancestry*
Gzennaya	Ulad Abd el Mumen, Beni Tadmut, Ikaroen, Ulad Fars	Brothers from the east, through the Beni Bu Yahyi
	Beni Yunes	Recent entry from Beni Snus, a Zenatan tribe
	Tarosht	Agheir el Hamid, in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja
	Ikhuanen	Khunduktamda, in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja
	Jebarna	Branes, very recent entry
	Teliwin	Beni Abdullah of the Beni Urriaghel
	Telmest, Mukudem	Beni Amart
	Imsdurar, Khebaba, Beni Mohammed, Ulad Alu ben Aissa	Autochthonous heathen. The ancestors of Imsdurar were called Irumiyen, implying a profession of Christianity.
Beni Urriaghel	Aith Yusuf u Ali	One of the *sohabs* of Mohammed. This claim was not advanced until the accession of Abd el Krim to power, and may well be false. Formerly the Aith Yusuf u Ali were reckoned the descendants of heathen.
	Imrabten	Sidi Hamid el Kroni, an Arab saint, probably living at Nekor during the dynasty of Saleh
	Aith Ali, Aith Abdullah, Beni Bu Ayesh	Autochthonous heathen
Beni Amart	Buhut, Agheir n Vandu	Vandu, a local heathen
	Beni Maita	Senhaja
	In Amar u Said	Said, a recently arrived saint
	Ibuyibughen	Buyibugh, a famous heathen of old, who had many children. The Ibuyibughen are said to have formerly worn cowhide clothing in ignorance of cloth. Even to-day they are considered heathen and said to possess magical powers.
	Tasaroth, Ijaonen, Aahth er Hasein	Autochthonous heathen
Beni Tuzin	Asht Medjur, Thasinin, Thesera n Jakhatha, Ifaani, Taghsuth n Tasaa, Bu Hfora, el Azib of Meidhar	Zenata
	Meidhar, Asht Reiri, Zawia Sidi Bu Jiddain, Taurirt n Wushun, Ijaonen	Igharbiyen
	Asht Taaban, Ibutuyen, Ibarthan, Asht Aziman, Teisera Imziren	Heathen

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Temsaman	Ait Daud	Zenata from Beni Tuzin
	Tisi Azza	Igharbiyen
	Sidi Bu Daud, Bu Thinar, Amzaaru, Truguth, Sidi Shaib u Ftah	Heathen
	Oshannen	This group, as well as the family of the same name in Beni Said, is descended from the Ulad Alu Faro of the Gzennaya.
Beni Ulishk	Beni Tyeb	Zenata
	Sidi Misaud	Igharbiyen
	Anual, Dhar u Baran	Heathen
Tafersit	Tafersit town	Zenata
Beni Said		Data lacking, except for family of Oshannen
Galiya	Tisidelt, Beni Bu Ifrur, Beni Bu Yafer	Autochthonous heathen
	Ait Shisber, Masuza, Iferkhanen	Christians
Kebdana	Entire tribe	First heathen, then Christian
Targuist	Entire tribe	Formerly there were heathen in Targuist who died out and were replaced by despised ironworkers coming from outside to found el Malimin, and by the Ikbemrijen shorfa and their families.
Bokoya	Sidi Mersh, Athuz, Izefzafen, Tafensa	Heathen
Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Hadifa, Mestasa		Data incomplete, most families said to be heathen
Mtiwa of the Rif		Both heathen and Arab

From this compilation, incomplete as it is, one may see that Senhajan influence penetrated the tribes of Gzennaya and Beni Amart, to the extent of giving certain families in these tribes eponymous ancestors; and that the Zenatan infusion was mostly confined to the nomadic tribes, Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and to border groups of Temsaman and Gzennaya. The tribes both to east and west of those just mentioned were left comparatively free of Zenatan influence so far as ancestors were concerned. Other foreigners, the *igharbiyen*, followed the same path as the Zenata, but extended more to the east as well. The tribes in which the majority of ancestral name-givers were autochthonous seem to be concentrated in the central and coastal Rif: Gzennaya, Beni Amart, the western maritime tribes, Bokoya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Galiya, and Kebdana. Beni Said, a tribe from which we have little information, may in this respect form a link connecting Temsaman with Galiya. The tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit are considered by the Riffians themselves to be of recent origin and are consequently called *ikharajien*, a *thamazighth* word of Arabic origin meaning "false promisers" or "newcomers."

Regarding those heathen reputed to have been the ancestors of most of the central Riffians and of some of those to the east, there are few traditions obtainable directly as such, although an intensive study of Riffian folklore would without doubt shed a great deal of light on this problem.

There is supposed to have been a people living in Wed Iherrushen of Gzennaya named Imdiwen, who made use of bronze tools, some of the remains of which have been picked up recently by the inhabitants of that valley and thrown away as worthless. The Imdiwen are

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

said to have fought among themselves until few were left; then there came hunger, and later plague, so that what few weak ones were left from the ravages of warfare succumbed utterly to the natural forces which beset them. There is said to have been a heathen king named Azzi, whose fortress was perched on the pass of the Noisy Mountain (Taurirt n Dghujidh) who stretched a rope between two sharp crags on either side of the Nekor, saying that whoever would marry his daughter must first pass over this rope from crag to crag. Many tried and fell down hundreds of feet on the rocks to die, until one day a Jew climbed the easier of the mountains with a load of withes, and wove himself a basket around the rope, got in, and drew himself across. Azzi gave his daughter to the Jew. On another occasion Azzi ordered all the people in Tiddest to bring him bowls of kuskus, stating that if any bowl were cold by the time it reached the top of the mountain its bearer would have his head cut off. The people of Tiddest took counsel and finally decided to cover their bowls with vegetable marrow, which retains the heat a long while, and doing this they all brought their kuskus to Azzi piping hot. The king, thrusting his hand into the first bowl to feel it, burnt his hand.

Tradition does not state which came first, the bronze-age Imdiwen or the ordinary ancestral heathen — but at any rate the bronze-age tradition confines the presence of the former to a definite limited area, while the heathen ancestors were found everywhere else in the Rif. Of the ancestral heathen one is told most emphatically that they were autochthonous, despite the fact that some of them are reputed to have adopted Christianity.

Summary. Traditions from this area, then, show several things clearly: that there dwelt originally in the territory a native pagan group which became the ancestors of the Riffians, especially of those now occupying the central tribes; that subsequently two invasions came from the southwest, first the Ghomara and then the Senhaja; that these Ghomara and Senhaja displaced whatever people had originally been in their territories, and subsequently received a slight infusion of Riffian blood; that the Senhaja and Ghomara fought a great war together, in which each of the Riffian tribes allied itself with one side or the other; that the Senhaja won this war; that long afterwards Zenatan peoples from the southeast filtered in, giving rise to a mixed or alien population in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and Beni Ulishk; and that in these same areas and also reaching farther to the east came an infusion of outsiders, called "westerners," who further reduced the purity of the ancestral stock in the eastern Rif.

The significance of these traditions will be manifest when the facts of history, cultural distribution, and racial distribution are dealt with.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turīrth-Thimārzgha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a market resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Palaeolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rīf is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these «Upper Palaeolithic survivors» are far too firmly rooted in their mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Riffians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Riffians in general and of Wuryāghlīs in particular, he will tell you that they, especially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to out your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Wuryāghil, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past Wuryāghlī children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the Wuryāghlī physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramaḍān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober,

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was, according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rba'* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbīsh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-A'raj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen, for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local festival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the 'Alawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith 'Ammarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

619 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the
616 defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor
their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or in-
[181] stitution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and
security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10]
administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for
coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of
619 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with
616 its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or
182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and
dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13],
markets and qanum), could never have been justified alone, because the
Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances,
which they would do until another more powerful force from outside,
such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in re-
ducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups
when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of in-
dividual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threaten-
616 ing its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries
619 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some
[614] instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself
616 over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja
619 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent
648 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also
• 173 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616 619 648 173 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of 616 619 182 disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Ref mm2

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
●173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their [illegible]

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Over two generations ago, the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin were exiled from their valley, but some of them returned. It is a long story;[8] a summary will suffice here.

It all started one chilly night when Amar the Scabhead shot a neighbor by mistake. Now the 'Abd el-Mumin had and still have neighbors, twenty-six families who call themselves Beni Tadmut, after their ancestress who was one of old 'Abd el-Mumin's daughters. It seems that the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had contracted an alliance by marriage with another clan over the ridge in the next tribe, the great and powerful Beni Urriaghel (later to produce the world-famous and still very much alive 'Abd el-Krīm). This Urriaghli clan was in trouble. Sorely pressed, it was besieged by a coalition of its neighbors, and hence sent a messenger with a goat over the ridge. This messenger sacrificed the goat on the sill of the mosque, so that blood spattered on its door, and this was a great shame compulsion, which no man of honor could refuse. Hence both the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, who shared the ancient mosque, went to the rescue.

They lifted the siege, but the enemy did not depart. One of the Tadmutis, creeping out on a reconnaissance by dim moonlight, was spotted by the aforementioned Amar the Scabhead, who shot him dead. At this a rumpus arose. Shots were exchanged, and with four parties involved it was hard to know who was shooting at whom. Sī 'Alī, the venerable and highly respected village schoolmaster, who served both clans as imām, was obviously the man to intervene, and he set forth from the huddled group of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin in the direction of the Beni Tadmut, only a score of yards away. Unable to control their wrath, the Tadmutis shot him. At this point a hush fell over the scene, and by daybreak the two squadrons of kinsmen had gone home separately, carrying their dead. The Urriaghlis, over whom this trouble had arisen in the first place, fearing to stay at home, went along with the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin who, outnumbered two to one, were glad of their company.

When the dead had been buried, the combatants found a half a hundred men gathered solemnly in council beneath their olive trees. These were the members of the *Asht Arba'in*, the councilors from all the villages up and down the valley, who had heard of trouble and hastened to the spot to keep it from spreading (while enjoying

[8] Told at length in Carleton S. Coon, *Flesh of the Wild Ox* (New York, 1932).

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in anticipation the meat of the fines which they hoped to collect). 173
The moderator of the council was M'allim Muḥammad, the wealth- 628
iest and most venerable of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin, whose position placed his newly made enemies at a disadvantage. This they pointed out immediately.

It was clear that the Beni Tadmut were the greater offenders. The council decided that both sides should pay blood money to each other, but the sum paid by the Tadmutis would be the greater. Both should pay a fine to the council for having made it necessary to call them together. The Tadmutis, however, demanded also that the Urriaghlis should be forced to leave. The amghar of the next valley, one Ḥajj Bukkeish (later to become an unsuccessful rival of 'Abd el-Krīm's in the war against Spain) agreed with the Tadmutis and swung the council to this opinion. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin, however, refused, pointing out that their kinsmen whom they were protecting had already had their houses burnt down and their trees felled, and might starve should they go home—if they were not shot first.

The meeting broke up without decision and without the collection of a fine. However, Bukkeish and the other leaders resolved to call together a greater meeting, a council of all five sections of the tribal confederation, each consisting of several valleys; thus three levels of deliberative bodies would be involved. The guests whom the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin refused to eject were members of another and even more powerful confederation, and large-scale intertribal trouble might easily arise. Meanwhile, the day before the holy feast of el 'Aid el-Kabīr (when despite the trouble everyone was bustling around as we do on the day before Christmas) the schoolmaster of the Beni Tadmut appeared, unarmed, with a goat and two other unarmed men. Approaching the M'allim Muḥammad's house, he declared that he had come to make a truce, and invited the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin to come to the mosque and swear an oath.

After much deliberation and with some misgivings, the M'allim Muḥammad agreed, and set out with two of his sons. The Tadmutis, as feared, had led them into an ambush. First the Tadmutis killed Amar the Scabhead, then the M'allim Muḥammad shot two of them and was shot in turn, through the head. One son, the Ḥajj Muḥammad, escaped, wounded in the foot. He crawled up on the mountain and hid behind a rock. The next day, as the Beni Tadmut left their houses all dressed in their new clothes, to go to the big mosque up

316 [village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin] Caravan

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On